by Syriac Christians who speak Syriac and Arabic. A few villages are completely Armenian. Most of these villages are around Kubur el Bid and Qamishli. These Christian peasants are very devout. They are also conservative and always remember the injuries inflicted upon them in Turkey. There is hardly a Christian family in the towns or villages which did not lose a relative or a friend in the massacres. Therefore they are always on their guard against their Moslem neighbors and are always suspicious of the Government. Their bitterness is not likely to disappear for some time to come, and is a factor to be considered in the political development of Jazirah.

The Christians of Jazirah belong to all creeds and denominations. The largest community in numbers and in importance is the Syriac Orthodox, followed by the Armanian Orthodox. There are Chaldeans, Syriac Catholics, Armanian Catholics, Protestants, Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic, and Nestorians. It should be mentioned that what determines the origin and affiliation of a man in Jazirah is not his language or dress, but his Church. Thus a Kurd who speaks only the Kurdish language, who lives like a Kurd on the same standard of living, and who dresses like one, is yet an Armenian or a Chaldean or a Jacobite because he belongs to one of these Churches. His original language and customs have been lost by living for ages in a foreign environment. That is why one finds in Jazirah and the mountains beyond it the only Christian Kurds in the world. But in reality they are not Kurds. They are Armenians or Syriacs or Chaldeans who have adopted the Kurdish language and their true nationality can be known only by referring to their Churches.

A more recent concentration of Christians in Jazirah is constituted by the Assyrians around Tal Tamr on the Khabur. Following the massacre of the Assyrians in Iraq in 1933 and their expulsion from that country, the French in Syria gave them asylum, and the League of Nations appropriated funds to settle them along the Khabur. Lands were granted to them and villages were built in which motors and pumps were installed for irrigation. Nevertheless during these 19 years all the efforts appear to have been useless. The ten thousand Assyrians who migrated to Syria lead a wretched life. Their motors are not in a working condition, their crops are not abundant and they are now trying to sell their lands. The reasons for such a condition may be found in the fact that the Assyrians are not farmers and the lands given to them are of a poor quality.

During the French Mandate, the Christians of Jazirah, with the memory of the Turkish massacres still fresh, and considering all

7:Lewis S-5 (ca. 1940-45) 1948 MD1 Syria MD1

Tamerlane's invasion and were dispersed in other parts of Syria. Of 3200 villages once on the tax rolls of the pashalik of Aleppo, only 400 were said to be inhabited when Volney visited the country in the 1780's.[10] Such peasants as remained in the west of our region suffered from misgovernment, extortion, and raiding by Arab tribes.

In the second half of the past century a movement of recolonization started that is still in progress. Sheep-raising Arab tribes began to settle in villages; peasants came from the districts of Hama and Homs; immigrant Circassians established four villages north of the town of Selemiya. The frontier began to move outward once more, and old foggaras were cleaned and repaired to give irrigation water once again. The strongest and most energetic immigrant group, the pioneers, were Ismaili, led back to their land of a thousand years ago by a group of powerful leaders. They settled first on the site of Selemiya itself about 1870. Today they number 14,000 or more, the majority living in the town and in villages to the east. They chose village sites where old foggaras could be brought into use, and for 75 years they have been extending the area of irrigated land by the restoration of old canals and the digging of new ones. In the last 20 years subsistence agriculture, depending largely on unirrigated grain farming, has given way before a more intensive commercial system, typified by the growing of irrigated cash crops such as seed onions and cotton on individualized holdings. The government has granted money for canal cleaning and swamp drainage. All these factors have contributed to extension of irrigation.

Some old canals, however, are still derelict. Some are so ruined that the cost of repair would be prohibitive. Others may yet be brought back into use, but the will to work is weaker than in the early days of colonization, and now laborers' wages and other expenses have increased. Elsewhere village boundaries cut across old canals. Landowners of the village where a canal rises are loath to let the water flow away to the lands of another village, and thus ancient foggara systems which were perfectly related to the physical environment have been partly replaced by more local schemes of surface canal and ditch irrigation. For example, the canals that rise in Moufaqqar (Fig. 3) could irrigate land and drive mills in Moufaqqar, Tell et Tout, and Selemiya, but they have been so modified that the water is used only in Moufaqqar, and some of it runs to waste. A canal which rises in Tell et Tout but which formerly flowed on to Selemiya land has been blocked, so that its water irrigates Tell et Tout land only.

[10] C.-F. Volney: Travels through Egypt and Syria, in the Years 1783, 1784 & 1785, translated from the French, 2 vols., New York, 1798; reference in Vol. 2, pp. 90-91.

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ment will need to help private enterprise achieve these goals by collaborating, for instance, in the establishment of an institution to furnish technical and financial assistance, revising policies for the protection of industry from foreign competition and working towards the creation of a larger market for manufactured products, particularly through an intensification of economic cooperation among Arab countries.

To service the economy new and better roads and a larger supply of electric power are clearly necessary. Both of these call for a substantial increase in public investment. Transport is the most important bottleneck in the economy today; the acute shortage of power in major centers such as Aleppo and Damascus is already receiving government attention.

While expansion of the production base of the economy is the paramount task of the future, education, public health and the social services will also make greater claims on the government's resources. A further extension of educational facilities is undoubtedly necessary, but at the same time more stress must be placed on improving the quality and content of education. The condition of public health still leaves much to be desired. While the most urgent deficiencies in hospital accommodations must be remedied, the most pressing need is to concentrate increasingly on the prevention of disease by such measures as an anti-malarial campaign, improvements in sanitation and provision of pure water supplies. A marked and general improvement in housing conditions is likely to result only from a substantial increase in production and improvement of living standards but the government should at least assist the larger municipalities to initiate a program to cope with the worst conditions of housing congestion, a by-product of rapid but uneven economic growth.

A program of this type, which we shall elaborate in subsequent chapters of this report, should lay the foundation for a renewed and continued economic advance. It will serve not simply to compensate for a possible slackening of private investment but above all to create ultimately increased opportunities for greater private investment and enterprise which will expand production and raise standards of living.

The government has become increasingly aware of the task that lies ahead. Its request for an International Bank mission to work out recommendations for development testifies in part to its concern. It realizes that despite the economic progress of the past, the country cannot be satisfied with the current state of development and the standard of living it sustains. National income is still only around £S 440 per capita. Moreover,

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encouraging results have been achieved. The justification for a special organization rests primarily on the fact that a properly conceived village improvement program transcends the bounds of agriculture. Its principal task, of course, will always be to raise the standards of agriculture and animal husbandry, the source of livelihood of the villagers. Yet the living conditions of the 2,000,000 people living in villages of less than 5,000 inhabitants must be improved as a whole. Standards of housing, health and sanitation, and adult education must be raised, and better roads and community facilities provided. Moreover, the need for special techniques in approaching this entire problem argues in favor of a special organization. The government has neither the staff nor the funds to carry out all the urgent village improvements itself. Its task must be rather to stimulate and assist the villagers in mobilizing their resources for self-help. Only in this way can a development program achieve worthwhile results at the village level.

The program the mission has in mind calls for the progressive introduction of rural community leaders or workers into the villages. One community worker for about 4,000 people should suffice, and if on this basis he must cover a number of villages over an extended area, he should have an assistant, selected preferably from among the rural school teachers. The community worker, though a government employee, should have no administrative duties. His sole function should be to encourage and crystallize the villagers' desire for improvement. His training should be primarily agricultural, but he should also have sufficient knowledge of the other aspects of village life to suggest what can be done. Most of the things which can or should be done to better living conditions are rather elementary. The knowledge of the community worker, therefore, need not be profound. Moreover, he would be able to call upon the specialized services of the government for advice and assistance in dealing with problems with which he himself cannot cope. For instance, he should know enough to identify and prescribe measures for most of the prevalent diseases and pests which attack crops and livestock, but he may need help from the veterinarian or pathological service to deal with difficult cases or extensive outbreaks of disease. If he can awaken an interest in cooperatives, he will then need to call in a credit supervisor from the Agricultural Bank or an expert from the Ministry of Agriculture to launch one. He may get the villagers to start a program of constructing latrines, but need advice from the sanitation experts of the Ministry of Health on methods of construc-

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tion. Similarly, he may induce the villagers to work on improving village roads, but may have to go to the regional road engineer of the Ministry of Public Works for advice and the temporary loan of a truck. In many respects he will be the intermediary between the villagers and the government services which can assist them. In discharging his task he will obviously have to work closely with the regular local government officials such as the *moukhtar* of the village or the *mudir* of the *nahiye* or township. His success will largely depend on the support of these officials.

Ultimately there should be about 500 such community workers and 200 assistants. The extensive preparatory and organizational work involved in starting the program would be such, however, that only about 12 community workers would be operating at the end of six years. Thereafter, the program would gain momentum, with the number of workers doubling each year so that the target could be attained in another six years. For the first six years the mission envisages a total expenditure of £S 2.7 million, but by the end of 12 years annual expenditures of £S 7 million would be required.

The mission suggests that the rural community improvement organization be headed by a special administrator directly responsible to the prime minister and the council of ministers. He should recruit a number of foreign experts to help with the necessary training and planning and the initial implementation. This group would include persons experienced in general community work, public health, agriculture and housing. The FAO and such organizations as the Near East Foundation and the Ford Foundation might be asked to provide the necessary personnel. The experience of the Near East Foundation, which has been operating a number of pilot community projects along the same lines in the Ghouta around Damascus, would be particularly helpful. The foreign experts would be primarily responsible for planning and training. They should draw up a basic handbook which would be a compendium of practical measures which community workers can apply and would offer them guidance in techniques of stimulating and organizing community action. They would plan the necessary training courses for community workers in the secondary agricultural school and assist in introducing instruction on the elements of community development work in the university, teachers' training colleges and other schools. Their assistance will also be needed in holding regional seminars in which local officials would be acquainted with the objectives and methods of the program.

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Other government services must be effectively tied in with the community improvement program. At the national level, therefore, the administrator should be assisted by a coordinating and policy-making council on which the Ministries of Agriculture, Public Health, Education, Public Works and National Economy, and the Agricultural Bank would all be represented. Similarly, the work at the provincial or county level should be coordinated by a council representing the cooperating government services and chaired by the *mohafez* or the *kaimakam*. In fact, the community worker might best be attached to the office of the *mohafez* or *kaimakam*.

The inauguration and expansion of this rural community improvement organization will increase rather than diminish the demand for the services of the specialized officers of the Ministry of Agriculture. More agronomists, veterinarians and plant protection experts will be needed to make frequent visits to villages either on their own initiative or on request for the purpose of helping and advising community workers. In the beginning these specialists will serve a dual role, carrying out their present administrative tasks and giving technical supervision and guidance to the village workers. With further expansion of the community development system, however, the services of full-time technical specialists will be required. This will allow for the separation of administrative and regulatory functions from educational and demonstration activities, thus making it possible for the technical specialists to develop a closer personal working relationship with the villagers. The return of people now studying abroad will enable the Ministry to strengthen its staff in the provinces, but more personnel will also have to be recruited from the secondary agricultural school.

Agricultural Education and Staffing[22]

Repeatedly the mission has emphasized the vital need for more trained staff if the government is to discharge its responsibility for raising the standard of agriculture and animal husbandry. This points to the need for providing much greater facilities for education in agriculture at the secondary school and university levels. The mission has considered a suggestion to establish a faculty at the Syrian University to provide the higher education in agriculture and veterinary science for which students

[22] See Annex C, p. 318.

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II PUBLIC HEALTH

The progress in public health has been much less spectacular and less steady than that in education. Expenditures on public health have increased sharply only in recent years. In 1954 the budget of the Ministry of Public Health amounted to £S 8.764 million or 4.2% of the regular budget, as compared with actual expenditures of £S 3.431 million or 3.4% of the total in 1945. Health facilities have been gradually expanding. The number of hospitals has risen from 35 with 1,785 beds at the end of 1945 to 61 with 4,094 beds at the end of 1954. Over the last seven years the government has spent, on an average, £S 1.3 million on public health facilities, so that government hospitals now have a total of 3,000 beds. The number of doctors in Syria has risen from 616 in 1945 to about 880 at present.

Yet it is generally recognized that the state of public health is far from satisfactory. This conclusion rests upon testimony and observation rather than health statistics. The statistics, indeed, are so inadequate as to provide little indication of health conditions. The number of deaths registered, for example, imply a death rate of but seven per thousand, but the record of deaths is evidently very incomplete and the actual death rate rather high. There is still a high incidence of debilitating diseases. Malaria, for example, is prevalent in many parts of Syria. Diseases such as tuberculosis and the many varieties of intestinal infections, which are generally associated with poor sanitation and hygiene, overcrowding and low standards of living, are quite widespread. Infant mortality is particularly high. Thus 36% of the registered deaths in 1951-53 occurred among children less than five years old, and of these about the same percentage died of diarrhoea and enteritis.

An effective campaign to raise health standards would require resources which Syria will hardly be able to mobilize at its present stage of development. The health program will have to remain rather modest and should attempt primarily to remedy the more glaring deficiencies. These are, principally, the inadequate attention given to preventive medicine and the markedly unequal geographic distribution of existing health facilities.

Preventive Medicine

The prevention of disease is likely in the long run to be more economical than curative medicine. The mission believes that this aspect of

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743 In addition it would be desirable to build some new village dispensaries, which now number 96, at a cost of about £S 350,000, and to provide a similar sum for the construction of quarantine stations and minor health facilities.

To provide an adequate staff for the recommended additional medical and health facilities, the government must plan a training program. The faculty of medicine in Damascus may have to increase the enrollment of students to provide enough doctors for the new hospitals and health units. Many nurses would be needed for the hospitals, health units and dispensaries; nursing training facilities should therefore be increased. Midwives, laboratory technicians, sanitary inspectors and other medical health auxiliary personnel would also be needed to staff the new health services. The fellowships provided by WHO and the nursing education, maternal and child health and tuberculosis demonstration and training projects assisted by WHO should therefore be coordinated and if necessary expanded to meet the need for technical personnel.

In addition to the cost of the staff training program, some funds will no doubt be needed for reconstruction and expansion of hospitals; we have included £S 1 million in the recommended program for these purposes.

743 657 A revision in the methods of planning and building new health facilities appears necessary. In the past, new hospitals have frequently been built without any consultation with the Ministry of Public Health. Decisions to build have generally been made in response to local requests relayed through the Ministry of Interior, approved by the Ministry of Finance and carried out by the Ministry of Public Works. In the future the Ministry of Public Health should be enabled to plan for the construction of new facilities in accordance with a careful appraisal of the most urgent requirements. The Ministry of Public Works might well continue to do the actual construction, but in accordance with plans approved by the Ministry of Public Health and on a basis which would enable the latter Ministry to make timely preparations for the equipment and staffing of new hospitals.

Proposed Outlays

744 657 In proposing the construction program outlined above, the mission has kept in mind the need for providing additional funds for operation and administration. After taking this into account, it is expected that expendi-

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tures on public health, including new construction, would rise from a total of £S 10.052 million budgeted for 1954 to an average of £S 12.358 million in the six-year period 1955-60. The expenditures envisaged for the entire period 1955-60 would be distributed as follows (in thousands of Syrian pounds):

	Total	Annual average
Anti-malarial campaign and dispensaries	3,100	517
Establishment of new hospitals and health units	8,350	1,392
Quarantine stations	300	50
Administration and operation of existing and new facilities including training of technical personnel	62,400	10,400
Total	74,150	12,358

III HOUSING

The postwar period has witnessed a considerable housing boom. In recent years construction has been on a scale double that of prewar years. The wartime backlog in housing, the increasing prosperity in the postwar period and the tendency toward a break-up of the larger family units have all contributed to this boom. Aside from a few houses built for civil servants, all of the construction has been private, and it has taken place without the help of a mortgage financing institution. In terms of value, probably over 80% of the new housing has been of the Western or European type, which is too costly for the vast majority of the people.

While the housing of the rural population and the lower classes in the cities is undoubtedly very bad, significant general improvement is likely to come about only as incomes and standards of living rise. It would be impractical for the government to direct substantial resources into housing for the masses which could not be supported by the present productivity of the economy. While the mission firmly believes that the state should take a greater interest in the improvement of housing, for the immediate future the government's role will have to be confined to (1) developing, through experimentation, methods of cheap and durable construction, (2) planning and assisting housing in new rural settlements, (3) constructing

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ingly allowed for construction amounting to £S 8.5 million during the years 1955-60, or a little over £S 1.4 million annually.

The mission has one general observation to make regarding the responsibility for planning and constructing government buildings of all types. We believe that the Ministry of Public Works should in the future, as in the past, be responsible for designing and constructing public buildings. On the other hand, the various ministries and government agencies for which the buildings are to be built should be in the position of programming their own requirements. We have already had occasion to stress this in connection with public health facilities but it applies generally. Each ministry or independent government agency which requires a more or less continuous building program should have at least one or two officers charged with the task of anticipating building requirements. Proposals for new construction and appropriate budget allocations should come from the ministries concerned. Once they are approved, it is the task of the Ministry of Public Works to design and construct the building. Final approval of the design should also rest with the initiating ministries or agencies since only they will be able to judge whether the proposed design meets their needs.

A Housing and Settlements Administration

In this and previous chapters we have envisaged that the government will play an increasingly prominent role with respect to the establishment of new rural settlements, urban housing and town planning. These are in the main new functions for the Syrian government and at present it is hardly equipped to discharge them. A new organization with a specially trained staff will be necessary. An independent agency set up for this purpose would have the task of (1) providing technical assistance to municipalities in town planning and related fields, and (2) planning and coordinating the work in housing and settlement.

The planning must be on two levels: on a broad national and regional scale, keeping in mind population trends and the interaction between economic development and the geographic distribution of population, and on a more detailed local scale, involving particular settlement projects.

Regarding the first of these planning functions, we do not suggest that the agency should be charged with drawing up the economic development program. It must keep under constant study, however, the impact which

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561 privately and publicly generated economic development will have on the 657 distribution of the population and must anticipate what problems it will pose in terms of growth of municipalities and their needs, and in terms of regional transport and other requirements. It would also study comparative population pressures on the land and recommend how these might best be relieved through the development of idle or under-utilized land and the establishment of new settlements. Its findings and recommendations would permit timely revisions in the content and direction of a public development program.

With respect to the second planning function, the proposed agency would prepare in detail the settlement schemes for the Ghab, the Roudj and the dry-farming areas we have proposed. It is important that one organization have the responsibility for planning and coordinating this settlement work. Only in this way will it be possible to economize on the expert staff required and to apply the experience gained in one settlement scheme to subsequent projects. Thus the agency would plan in detail the layout of the settlement, the community facilities to be provided, the type and design of housing and methods of construction, the communications among the new settlements or between new settlements and existing communities, the principles governing the selection of settlers and the terms on which they would be settled, etc. Within the framework of such a plan, the actual carrying out of various phases of the settlement work should be left as far as possible to existing ministries and departments. Thus the Ministry of Interior in consultation with the Ministry of Agriculture would select the settlers in accordance with the recommended criteria; the Ministry of Public Works would cooperate with the settlers in the construction of housing, community facilities and roads; and the Agricultural Bank would finance the necessary housing and equipment of the settlers. Even in the planning of the settlements, the proposed agency should consult freely with the ministries concerned. It would, however, retain over-all direction in order to ensure that the work by all interested parties is properly carried out and coordinated.

In the field of housing and town planning, the new agency's functions would be similar in character. It would lay down the general directions along which the proposed building research station would work. The housing funds made available by the government would be distributed among municipalities in accordance with the recommendations and terms and conditions which it would frame. It would provide technical assistance

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to municipalities in drawing up and revising town planning schemes.

For this agency we envisage a status comparable to that of the agency in charge of the rural community development program. It should be headed by a competent, well-paid director directly responsible to the prime minister and the cabinet. A part of its top staff of experts initially would have to be recruited abroad. In view of its responsibility for a vital segment of the development program, it should have a budget of around £S 600,000 a year to which the government might contribute £S 500,000 and the municipalities £S 100,000.

Proposed Expenditures

The recommendations which we have made in this chapter would entail a total government outlay of £S 24.95 million over the six-year period 1955-60, distributed as follows (in thousands of Syrian pounds):

	Total	Average annua
Water supply	13,000	2,167
Urban social welfare	450	75
Public buildings (general)	8,500	1,417
Housing and Settlements Administration	3,000	500
Total	24,950	4,159

These proposed expenditures are exclusive of those which would be undertaken by the municipalities.

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362 families requiring one dwelling each. While the need for a high and even higher rate of construction in the future is undeniable, it is doubtful that the factors which have operated to create an effective demand for housing will altogether be as effective in the future. Some decline in building over the coming years may well take place.

345 361 Community services have not kept pace with construction. Damascus and Aleppo have been most nearly provided with the essential streets, water supply and sewerage facilities, but the medium-sized and the small communities are very badly serviced. Except for water supply, this is not yet a problem for the small settlements, but it is serious for the medium-sized centers with their motorized transport and denser populations. The social services—education, public health, social welfare and community development—are likewise not yet adequately developed in Syria, but the country is commendably aware of the need and in the field of education, at least, has increased its expenditures impressively in the last few years. A few of the larger municipalities take care of their community services and have undertaken town-planning, but the central government, through the Ministry of Public Works, merely serves as technical advisor to the municipalities. There is no central government department with responsibility for housing. And while there are ministries for education and public health, no government department is responsible for social welfare or community development programs and no such programs exist. The administrative organizations in these fields clearly need strengthening.

Investment in Settlements

457 361 Over 60% of Syria's total annual investment is estimated to go into settlements, for housing, community and social services, and other purposes. During 1949-53 this type of investment averaged £S 138 million annually, of which £S 15 million (almost 11%) was from public funds and £S 123 million (89%) was private investment. On the basis of a 3.65 million population the annual investment in this sector was £S 39.4 per capita, of which £S 35.1 represents private funds.

[362] Perhaps as much as 80% of the private investment and about 72% of the total investment in settlements goes into housing; the balance is divided between industrial and commercial buildings, in that order. Private building activity reached an all-time high in 1953.

Of public investment in settlements, 80% is municipal and only 20%

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governmental, representing 1.7% and 2.2%, respectively, of total investment in settlements. Municipal investment is directed to water supply,[1] roads, power plants and distribution networks and sewerage facilities, in that order; very little goes for housing. Government investment is primarily in buildings, chiefly for education and public health purposes.

The mission has assumed, in preparing its proposed program for settlements and social services, that the estimated 1954 population of 3.65 million will increase over the next five years at a rate of only 1.5% annually, rather than the 2% rate of recent years. If the program is to be properly adjusted to Syria's needs, however, a population census and an improvement in the collection and organization of vital statistics are urgently needed. Better public health conditions, economic development, opening of new areas and new lines of transport and communications, changes in social patterns—all will bring about major changes in size and distribution of the population over the next few years. Any policy developed for the settlements should be planned with an eye not only to the immediate future but also to the longer term economic, social and cultural development of the country.

II EDUCATION

A PROGRESS TO DATE

For centuries, and especially during the years of foreign occupation, the only formal educational facilities were the Koranic schools, which concentrated on religious teaching. A decline in the number of these schools began about 150 years ago, and with it a gradual change in their curriculum; today about one-third of the time is devoted to religion. Meanwhile the number and significance of state primary schools has been increasing. In these, during the French occupation, the pattern of education was influenced by traditional French systems.

Since independence, Syria has started to develop its education at a faster rate and to give it a Syro-Arabic pattern. The effort of these few years and the success achieved is impressive. The budget of the Ministry of Education rose from almost £S 17 million in 1946 to £S 36.8 million in 1953, and its share of the total budget increased from 13.5% to 17.7% (in 1923 it had been only 9.1% and in 1931 9.8%). Between 1946 and 1953 the

[1] Water supplies in Damascus and Aleppo, however, are financed by government funds.

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Miscellaneous Buildings

653 [341] There are, of course, various other types of public and special-purpose buildings with which the government is concerned. Among these are agricultural structures, workshops, museums, monuments and resthouses, to whatever extent they are not privately financed. The mission has made suitable allowances for these in the six-year program, under the appropriate headings elsewhere in this report.

[342] Although they are financed and constructed entirely by private endeavor, the religious buildings deserve special mention. This is a field in which Syria excels. Some of the mosques, minarets and churches, whether in large towns or small villages, are outstanding illustrations of the way in which architectural design and construction can be adapted to the needs of the people, their economic resources, and the materials and skills available locally.

657 VII COST OF PROPOSED SETTLEMENTS AND SOCIAL SERVICES PROGRAM

Table 5 summarizes the mission's proposed six-year program in the field of settlements and social services.

TABLE 5 Proposed Six-Year Program for Settlements and Social Services Financed by the Public Sector (*Thousand £S*)

Sector	Total	Annual average
Housing	28,076	4,679
Education	271,780	45,297
Public health	74,150	12,358
Social welfare	450	75
Community development	2,687	448
Buildings for other purposes	8,500	1,417
Community services	86,000	14,333
Planning—Administration	3,600	600
Total	475,243	79,207
Share of		
Central government	372,643	62,107
Municipalities	102,600	17,100

15: Khadduri S-4 (no date) 1951 MDl Syria MDl

642 423 with public welfare." All subsoil minerals, solid or liquid, are declared the property of the State; and the State, in the general interest, is permitted to expropriate private property in accordance with a law providing for just compensation. But Article 23 ensures that no "general confiscation" shall be permitted.

The Constitution provides in like manner the way of utilizing the land. It stipulates that land "shall be cultivated and not neglected"; and that should it be left unexploited within a certain period to be specified by law, the right of usufruct is alienated. The Constitution provides, likewise, that "a maximum limit for land ownership shall be prescribed by law," and that small and medium ownership is to be encouraged: "The State shall distribute State lands to peasants to whom land is not available sufficient to their living, against small rents to be repaid in installments." (Article 22.)[25]

642 651 Labor is regarded as "the most basic factor in social life," and is "the right of all citizens." "The State shall provide work to citizens and shall guarantee it by directing and promoting the national economy." (Article 26.) The State undertakes to protect labor and provide legislation for the regulation of wages, hours of labor, allowances, and the improvement of social and health conditions. Trade unions are permitted to be formed within the limits of the law. Forced labor is prohibited except by law aimed at certain specific social and constructional services, and in case of war and emergencies.

642 871 Education is declared a right of every citizen. Elementary education is compulsory and free in all Government schools. Secondary and professional education, though not compulsory, is also free in all Government schools. "The State shall give priority in the budget for the spread and expansion of elementary, rural, and professional education." The aim of education is defined as "the creation of a generation strong in body and mind, full of faith in God, endowed with moral virtues, proud in the

425 [25] On February 15, 1952, the Minister of Agriculture announced a plan for the distribution of 166,000 dunams (app. 41,500 acres) of State land in the Jazirah area among 554 Bedouin families of the Shammar Zor tribe. Each family will receive 300 dunams (75 acres), and each peasant, after paying the State LS 1.5 annually for 3 years, will own his share of the land. The State land is to be distributed among several villages, each village to receive 20,000 dunams (5,000 acres).

SYRIA

(Visited 13 - 19 January 1953)

131 58. The Republic of Syria covers approximately 55,700 square miles and has an
162 estimated population of 2,900,000 (including nomads 3,200,000), Arabic speaking and
132 mainly Moslems. There is at present no problem of over-population. Much of the country is at present rain-fed dry land.

311 The total cultivable area is 12,500,000 acres of which about 1/3 is
312 under cultivation. Many irrigation projects have been started or are in contemplation. The systems of irrigation do not expose the peasantry in the same degree as in Egypt to bilharzia and the climate is invigorating for much of the year.

241 59. Agriculture and cattle breeding are the principal industries. A recent
231 government decree laid down that land not registered must be put at the disposal of the State, who will sell it at a low price in lots of 50 hectares. The land which is thus to be acquired is State Domain which at various times has been appropriated and cultivated by the big land-owning families. The areas involved are said to be 2.3 million hectares of cultivable land and 3.6 million hectares of grazing.

423 The land which is to be redistributed must be exploited within 2 years from the
185 date of purchase and must not be resold, although it may be mortgaged to the Agricultural Bank. The Bank will give financial help for the purchase and development of the land.

60. The scheme has been criticised on the ground that in order to avoid a fall in production from the large estates now being cultivated through private capital and a stop being put to the further exploitation of hitherto uncultivated land, the Government will require to make provision for the supply of capital and expert advice to new peasant owners. A scheme for the drainage of a considerable tract in the Jezirah area, known as the Ghab Swamp, is being drawn up as a result of a survey of the area by a foreign firm of engineers. This will also require large capital expenditure.

61. The financing of land redistribution schemes is outside the scope of our mission as is the furnishing of expert advice on new agricultural methods for the more successful exploitation of small estates, except in so far as agricultural extension services can be combined with health and other services appropriate to community welfare organisation.

62. The possibility of the Syrian Government's applying for outside technical assistance for any of the above-mentioned purposes is a matter of high policy which we did not feel justified in discussing with the officials whom we had occasion to meet during our visit to Damascus.

647 63. Dr. Joukhadar, the Director of Labour and Social Affairs, gave the mission the
659 text of a project law (Appendix IV) that had been drafted in his department for
185 establishing rural community centres, somewhat on the lines of those that exist in Egypt.

64. The Decree contemplates that in each province a modal centre be established to provide all requisite economic, health, cultural, social and administrative services this being "the only institution that can undertake all the responsibilities and guarantee the success of a programme of village improvement which does not involve

ill-considered plans and avoid abrupt changes". A separate section in the Labour and Social Affairs Department of the Ministry of National Economy will run and supervise the centres, introduce local industries, study local conditions and implement a programme to raise the standard of living and promote local welfare. The Department will be assisted by an Advisory Committee comprising representatives from all agencies interested. Three bodies participate in the conduct of each model centre: one will consist of the staff members of the centre; the second the advisors to the staff members and the representatives of local administrative authorities; the third will be not one single committee but five committees of local residents, each to be responsible for a particular aspect of the centre. All will work under the supervision of the staff. The Decree defines the several units to be constituted for each centre and their respective responsibilities. 649 657 185

65. It is intended that when the Government has established a model centre in each province, the example will be followed in other districts by villagers who (as in the Egyptian prototype) will contribute to and share with the Government the expenses of maintaining a sufficient number of centres to cover the whole country.

66. The scheme which was inspired by the Cairo Seminar of 1950 had, we were informed, been discussed and agreed with other Ministries concerned and tentative arrangements had been made with the University authorities for their co-operation in providing the necessary personnel for the centres. Unfortunately, however, the project-law had not received the approval of the Ministers and Dr. Joukhadar gave no indication of any date for its operation. 242 185 474

67. On the introduction of Mr. Carroll Deyoe, FAO representative in Syria, members of the mission had the opportunity of meeting at the Ministry of Agriculture Mr. Akram Hakabi, the newly-appointed Secretary-General, who gave an account of agricultural extension work in Syria and of the development of agricultural co-operatives in the country. He foreshadowed a possible eventual use of the profits of these societies for community welfare purposes, but the movement is in its infancy.

68. Thanks also to the courtesy of Mr. Deyoe, the mission was put in touch with the local representatives of the Near East Foundation. In the absence in Beirut of the Programme Director, Mr. Eyer, his Deputy (Mr. Khoury) gave us the statement of the work of the Foundation in Syria which had been prepared for the recent Damascus Seminar which we had hoped to attend. Mr. Khoury accompanied us on his visit to Mashabeyeh one of the four villages in which the Foundation operates demonstration centres in agriculture and sanitation and in home-making, respectively. Mr. Sivaswamy has prepared a detailed account (Appendix V) of his impressions of the work done at Mashabeyeh. 212 185 744

69. The centre has been in existence one year. Its premises are in adobe houses such as are to be found in many villages in these parts. They have been simply adapted for their present purposes and the standard of cleanliness was pleasantly surprising. The staff consists of: (1) a sanitary inspector who looks after general sanitation, including mosquito control by insecticides and by drainage. (He makes a point of talking to the village people about water supply, latrines, etc.); (2) a nurse-midwife, whose duties are: ante- and post-natal care, examination of pregnant women, education of local midwives, regular supervision of the infants in the village. (There is no maternity clinic; the women are delivered in their homes); (3) a doctor, paid by the Foundation, who visits the centre once a week.